

# NATIONAL REVIEW

## *Bulletin*

While Titov Sleeps . . .

p. 1

Occidental Hospitality

p. 4

Attack on HUAC

p. 6

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**L**et us go ahead and assume Titov made the flight, a perfectly reasonable assumption even though a) in fact there's no proof that he did, and b) one must continue to envy less the man so brave as to step into a space capsule, than the man so imperturbable as to be able to sleep in one for eight out of 24 hours (perhaps it was the first time Comrade Titov could sleep through eight hours without worrying about a knock on the door?). And let us bemoan, if only for the record, the opacity of the Truman Administration which all but gave up space development, and the more particularized ignorance of Mr. Eisenhower, who refused in 1954 to encourage the development of an orbiting satellite powered by a military rocket, on the grounds that to do so would be to exasperate World Opinion.

But when all is said and done, what we are at this moment dangerously behind in, is not the expertise of sky-dancing, but the knowledge of psychological warfare. Consider that the President of the United States in 1954 feared a potential accomplishment which the Russians went on to effect in 1957, bringing down the cheers of the nations—including our own! The Communists know how (permit us) to *capitalize* on their achievements: we do not; we are embarrassed by ours. If it had been Russians sweeping over American skies with a U-2, and finally getting caught at it, they'd have transformed the incident into a national triumph of Soviet technology.

With all the talk of the great Soviet lead in space exploration, would the Pentagon, we wonder, exchange our position in missile development for the Russians'? Would we exchange our Polaris for their Titov? Our voyeurist workhorse Tiros for their evanescent Lunik? Yet all the world—including America!—is convinced that the Soviets' space technology has reduced us to the status of a second-class nation, and we are even supposed, in the trail of Titov's orbital somersaults, to reduce our position in Berlin! When, in 1948, we had the atom bomb and they had nothing, we beat our breast in despair, and they blockaded Berlin and took China.

It is not surprising that a nation that has learned to con African savages and Ivy League intellectuals—even while maintaining concentration camps, practicing genocide, corrupting civilized discourse, and threatening world peace—should know how to parlay an exhilarating feat of missilery into general arms pre-eminence and, quick-before-you-know-it, a renewed offensive on every Cold War front. What never ceases to surprise is the consistency with which the West goes along as straight man.

## *The WEEK*

● Soviet cosmonaut Titov, recounting his marvelous experiences in space, where he was weightless for a day, is quoted in the *New York Times* (August 9, p. 5), as describing his sleep while aloft as sound, although his "couch" was not a "pillow of down." The couch, therefore, was hard? And it pressed against him? Or he against it? While exempt from gravity? And therefore incapable of pressing or being pressed? Oh, Titov recounted his experiences, obviously: the experiences of—surely?—an entirely earthbound human being.

● The Administration, in the curious logical pattern of the Kennedy syndrome, continues to demonstrate its declared resolute firmness toward the Berlin crisis by evading firm decisions on every specific issue that confronts it. In the face of insistent demands by the Pentagon, the AEC, the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, and the scientists who have shown that the Russians are probably testing in secret, Arthur H. Dean, the top U. S. test negotiator, once again lays the problem over into the far blue yonder. Mr. Dean is in no hurry at all. He is "quite sure" that "sooner or later" there will be a test ban. And (as he explained matters on a recent TV show) his optimism springs from—try a guess—that jack-of-all-diplomatic-trades, our old friend, The Sino-Soviet Split. Yes, sir, the Soviet negotiators themselves—and surely you're not going to doubt the word of an official Soviet negotiator!—have told him that they are not helping the Chinese Communists even a little bit to get nuclear weapons. They are just dying for a first class test ban treaty so that

they can use it as "a complete answer as to why they could not give nuclear material to the Chinese Communists." Naturally, under these hopeful circumstances, we're not going to upset the boat by testing a few bombs of our own. "You know," Mr. Dean's electronic image mused, "every day at Geneva you have the feeling, well perhaps today something will happen."

● On September 25, in Brussels, the negotiations will begin on the question of Britain's joining the European Economic Community (the "Common Market"). Britain will not lightly renounce her policy of going it alone, a policy that she has adhered to since the fall of the Roman Empire; she will struggle against the necessity, probably by seeking a special place for the nations of the Commonwealth. But logic and the irrefragable witness of declining exports drives her to closer harmony with the life of the Continent, and with her will go her partners in that other, British-dominated trade group—Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Portugal. The economic unification of thirteen European countries will offer a mighty bulwark against the blandishments of trade with the East—and also a challenge to U.S. exports to that area. Unless the United States goes along, too, the immediate result of attractive European common-market conditions will be a serious drop in our exports, a renewed pressure on our gold reserves, and possibly the ascent of a European currency to the position of dominance. The logic that seduces Britain seduces us, also. And the discipline that we all resist will finally enfold us as it now begins to enfold Britain; either the discipline of competition in international markets, or the punishment of internal economic activity.



Illingworth, *London Daily Mail*

"Is the Picnic Really Over, Daddy?"

● After taking a hard look at what is happening to their Laotian neighbors, Malaya, Thailand and the Philippine Republic have come to the conclusion that SEATO, under the handicap of British and French softness and American indecision, may be designed more for capitulating to Communism in Southeast Asia than for resisting it. The three nations have therefore decided to initiate their own Association of Southeast Asia, to seek

a common market for the region, stable prices for its major exports, and a united front against further Communist advance.

● New York City Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy warns that crime cannot be checked unless the public cooperates with and supports the police. "In certain areas of the city," he says, "when police move in to carry out their sworn duty to keep the peace and protect life and property, it is an unfortunate fact of life that few if any persons will assist them. . . . Even worse are the cases of contrived public resistance . . ." In twelve months—averaging 32 times a week, or almost five times a day—1,780 cops were assaulted while carrying out their duties in the city. On one typical day, the Commissioner said, a policeman breaking up a street fight was attacked by a mob of onlookers; a cop arresting a dope peddler had to defend himself from a witness armed with a broken bottle; and an officer walking his beat was hit on the head with a bottle tossed from a building. To New York City policemen, the Laos jungles are beginning to sound more and more like a vacation resort.

● After 42 years of service with the United States Navy, Admiral Arleigh Albert Burke has retired. Since 1955 he had been Chief of Naval Operations—in a period that demanded all his imagination and daring to transform the Navy into a nuclear-submarine, supersonic-aircraft, guided-missile force. And now, into retirement—though, to judge by his forthright and stunning responses at his press conference, certainly not a retirement otiose and bucolic. Well done! And, now that you have at last shed the trammels of military decorum, let us hear from you—loud and clear—from time to time.

● The United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to set up direct air services between Moscow and New York. Based, no doubt, on the success of our air transport interchanges with Cuba.

## Khrushchev Bores

Nikita Khrushchev talks too much. He talks too often and too long. A few days ago he added another hour and twenty minutes' TV-time to his verbal quota—an infield bunt, in his league. After introductory platitudes about the Eagle's flight and the usual meaningless statistics on the Soviet economy (if there are shortages of meat and butter, let them eat spaceships and growth rates!), he sounded off in six or seven disharmonious keys on the Berlin problem. When someone talks all the time, you begin to suspect that he doesn't know what to say. Khrushchev's teacher was a man of long public silences. And when Stalin spoke at last, you knew it was necessary to listen, for all the banality of his Communist rhetoric.

In an empire as in a family, the successor to the mighty has a hard row to hoe. The founder of Khrushchev's house seized the whole Russian empire. Stalin the Genial conquered the Baltic lands, Poland, Hungary, all East Europe, and fabled Cathay. But our third in the line of Red Czars? An un-nourishing though appetizing morsel here and there—north Vietnam, Laos, Cuba—but nothing to splash on the maps of the future: a recession, even, from Austria and the Danube. It is all very well to boast about Seven Year Plans and the 1980 economic targets, and to tot up the below-surface swings in your favor in remote areas of Africa, the South Seas or the Andes. But what Russians comprehend, and what future historians write about, are boundaries swelling outward over the solid earth. Poor Khrushchev has not been able to digest into his boundary system even that one bony half-city a hundred miles behind his frontier.

Khrushchev's tumbling, discordant, contradictory words suggest that he has worked himself up into something of a frenzy over Berlin. And he has something to be frenzied about, true enough. It was in December 1958 that he issued his six-months ultimatum—a settlement of the Berlin issue by the next June, or else. That was thirty-two months ago, and nothing is settled, or even appreciably changed—except that the East Germans rush in ever-increasing thousands through the Berlin gate, wrecking the East German economy, and telling all the world in a plain prose that the simplest peasant cannot fail to understand, what his subjects think in their hearts of Czar Khrushchev and the glories of his rule.

May it not be that Khrushchev's tongue is frenziedly wagging about Berlin because he has not the least idea what to do about that indigestible city? And what can he do, really? He has no intention of going into a major war over Berlin: is he, the Little Father, going to order the destruction of Mother Russia and her empire? If he isn't ready for war, what is left?

Only, in the last analysis, to talk and keep talking until he somehow hits on the combination of formulas that will persuade the Western leaders to give him Berlin. It must be given, because he does not know, any more than Stalin knew, how to take it.

## Who Is Salan?

On July 19, fighting began in Tunis when, on President Habib Bourguiba's orders, Tunisian troops fired on French helicopters approaching the naval base of Bizerte. On July 28, the negotiations between French and FLN representatives, which had been shifted from Evian to the Château de Lugrin, broke up with no prospect of resumption. De Gaulle's African policy has thus reached a dead end from which no exit is in sight. Having renounced the war in Algeria, how can de Gaulle re-start it?—especially since it would now automatically spread to Tunisia and perhaps Morocco.

**PEOPLE:** Conservative Rep. **John Rousselot** (Cal.) now openly vying for GOP nomination for Senate seat held by Liberal Republican **Thomas Kuchel**. . . . Kuchel forces admit they're having trouble lining up financial backing for predicted hot-and-heavy primary fight next summer. (Kuchel, a **Nixon** man, will find the going easier if Nixon decides to run against Gov. **Pat Brown** in '62.) . . . Three-way senatorial fight may be in the cards in Arkansas where Gov. **Orval Faubus** is expected to oppose Sen. **William Fulbright** in the primary. Third candidate prospect is Rep. **Dale Alford**, who last week blasted Fulbright for his celebrated "Memo to **McNamara**," urging that right-wing officers be muzzled. . . . Gen. **Edwin Walker's** now-defunct Pro-Blue program last week was adopted, in toto, by N. Y. County Council of Veterans of Foreign Wars. . . . **Charles E. Boineau**, a Columbia, S. C. businessman and a conservative, last week became the first Republican in history to be elected to South Carolina legislature.

Mau Mau leader **Jomo Kenyatta**, scheduled to be released this week, is reported to be a dope addict (a habit the British Secret Service is said to have indulged). . . . Algerian FLN leader **Ferhat Abbas** and Italian mining and mineral czar **Enrico Mattei** in conference recently, presumably discussing disposition of Sahara oil if and when the FLN gets it. . . . One side-effect of French willingness to negotiate with FLN has been new, unaccustomed cordiality between **Bourguiba** and **Nasser**, both of whom frightened by power, arrogance of Algerian nationalists. . . . Brazil plans to package new instant coffee—brand name "**Gagarin**"—to sell to Russia. . . . En route back from South American tour, **Gagarin** stopped off to see **Cyrus Eaton** at Pugwash. (U. S. astronauts **Grissom** and **Shepard** refused Eaton invitation to meet the Wild Duck.)

For what it's worth: Capitol Hill cynics say **Chester Bowles** was kept on for just one reason—so he could be thrown to dogs if Red China gets into UN this fall and hue and cry is great. . . . Pres. **Kennedy's** tough speech on Berlin popularly believed to be victory of **Acheson** over **Stevenson** faction. . . . Rep. **John Bell Williams** (D., Miss.) will introduce bill in Congress barring U. S. aid to any nation which votes for admission of Red China to UN if it comes to a vote this fall.

**Kwame Nkrumah**, at latest European stop of his Communist Grand Tour (Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest, Prague) was greeted in Belgrade by Ghanaian students with posters reading: "Behold the Star of Ghana."



But he is unable to make peace. The "partition" of Algeria, which he "threatened" in case of the negotiations' failure, is geographically, technically and politically incredible. When there is no way out for a regime on the issue that it has made paramount, then it must fall, by the rules of political logic. But who and what could replace de Gaulle and the Fifth Republic? France and Algeria are once more filled with rumors of another putsch by the military and, this time, a broader bloc of civilian allies. A widely-circulated pamphlet, *Who is Salan?*, rejects "the men who have lost their direction," and predicts that they will soon be replaced by others, under the leadership of "a man of irrevocable determination," General Raoul Salan, who led the April uprising, and has since its defeat operated, under sentence of death, in the underground, whose paths he knows so well from his World War II experiences in the French *maquis*, and his long years in the wars of Indochina and Algeria.

### Mr. Seymour Complains

Mr. Robert Welch, founder and director of the John Birch Society, has renewed his drive to generate pressure on Congress to impeach Earl Warren. Pursuant to that end, he has announced a contest open to college students, for the best essays on why the Chief Justice of the United States should be canned.

Fancy the ensuing wrath! The august president of the American Bar Association (from which, ironically, Warren resigned in a huff a few years ago because of the ABA's implicit criticism of his Court's legal buccaneering) departed from his prepared text to denounce Mr. Welch's contest. "*This is not*," he thundered, "*legitimate criticism of court decisions* [who said it was intended to be a criticism of court decisions? It was intended to be criticism of Warren]; *it is personal vilification of one of the chief officers of our Government* [why vilification? The essay does not call for vilifying Warren, but for giving reasons why he should be impeached]. *All lawyers must deplore such conduct* [what business is it of lawyers—or candlestick makers—to pass *a priori* upon an inquiry into the question whether an official of the government should be impeached?]. *Let us leave such attacks to the Communists who hate our institutions.* (Is Mr. Seymour saying every one who criticizes the Supreme Court is a Communist? Hmmm.)

NATIONAL REVIEW believes the efforts to impeach Earl Warren are futile and wrongheaded. But we cannot see any objection to an essay contest arguing that Warren should be impeached—or honored. Or for that matter, anything wrong with an essay contest for the best paper arguing that the moon is made of green cheese. Why should Mr. Seymour get so excited, for heaven's sake? If the reasons for impeaching Warren are insubstantial, what better means of discrediting the enterprise than to survey the best arguments that ingenious and hungry

## • At Home •

Washington

**Though the Administration** continues to talk big of its resolve not to yield an inch in the Berlin crisis, it is as usual quietly attempting to barter away the rights of America's allies. This activity on the part of President Kennedy, his shadowy advisers, and the State Department's ubiquitous middle echelon, has been taking place on two fronts; the Far East and Central Europe. In the case of Free China, the Administration's Potemkin Village of firmness was a communiqué issued jointly by Premier Chen Cheng and the White House after Mr. Chen's desperate effort to dissuade Mr. Kennedy from tossing in the towel over Red China.

Premier Chen, who is also Vice President of China and Chiang Kai-shek's heir, had been justifiably concerned over Ambassador Adlai Stevenson's private reconnaissance of United Nations members. Speaking (presumably) for the Administration, Mr. Stevenson has been telling the African and Latin-American blocs that the U.S. will not oppose debate of the Red China issue. Other members of the U.S. delegation have continued to parrot the line that Red China is a "reality"—and that admission to the United Nations and eventual United States recognition are "inevitable." Simultaneously the Administration has been making overtures to Outer Mongolia, a Soviet puppet, and offering support to Communist efforts for bringing its illegitimate government into the glass menagerie on New York's East Side.

The Free Chinese, arguing that Outer Mongolia's admission would serve no purpose and merely give the Reds one more vote in the General Assembly, went to Washington to reason with the Administration. According to highly reliable reports, Premier Chen was greeted by Mr. Kennedy with a coldness bordering on severity. The second-ranking Chinese official was informed that if his government vetoed Outer Mongolia's membership, the Soviet Union would block the admission of Mauretania, a former French colony to whose territory Morocco lays violent claim. This, Mr. Chen was told, would lead the African nations to vote *en masse* for seating Red China. In point of fact, many African nations oppose Mauretania because of the strong French influence in the nascent country and the well-founded suspicion that France is less interested in its "independence" than in its potential oil fields. A vote by the Western coalition and its allies for Mauretania is the most likely means of pushing some African countries into the Communist camp on the issue of Red China.

Nevertheless, Premier Chen was ordered—in slightly more diplomatic language, of course—to behave like a good boy on the Outer Mongolia issue, or else. And at no time was he given any promise that the United States

would mobilize its vast political and economic powers to keep Red China off the General Assembly agenda. Mr. Chen left the White House smiling politely—but disillusioned and sick at heart.

**Simultaneously**, the State Department planners worked busily at a “compromise” over Berlin, which would have the semblance of a Western victory, yet surrender to Soviet demands in another area. For what the State Department has in mind is an offer to the Communists of recognition of the Oder-Neisse Line as the permanent boundary between East Germany and Poland. Several million Germans were rooted out of Pomerania and Silesia in order to deliver this highly valuable real estate to the Poles. Millions of these displaced persons now live in West Germany and their organizations are considered the backbone of the Federal Republic’s anti-Communist movement. If they are betrayed, American prestige will slump—and Comrade Nikita will be able to revive the Berlin crisis at any time it serves his purposes.

**Efforts to impose** censorship on all communications media have gone beyond the withholding of news by federal departments and agencies and moved into direct suppression. The normally jealous Washington news corps, however, sits by, still bemused by the Liberal slogans of Kennedy press agents. For example, there was almost no comment over the attempt by the Defense Department to kill a CBS television program on the Strategic Air Command. No question of national security was involved. Yet until minutes before air time, the network did not know whether or not it would get clearance. What offended the Defense Department and led to the censorship order was a remark by Senator Barry Goldwater, a panelist on the show, criticizing the “irresponsible reporting” of a pro-Administration newspaper.

The Administration failed in Senator Goldwater’s case, but it succeeded in muzzling a New York radio station which had prepared a critical program on U.S. military preparedness entitled “Defeat by Default.” The State Department objected to this presentation because it might offend the British and the French. The Defense Department’s Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Arthur Sylvester, justified the censorship by stating that it was his “personal reaction” that it would be “a very dangerous dramatization to present at this time.” Coming on the heels of the White House directive permitting federal employees to classify almost anything under the new category of “official information,” these two episodes indicate that 1964 is closer than we think. Mr. Sylvester, in his days as a correspondent for the *Newark News*, campaigned for the suppression of congressional investigations. His current acts may explain why he felt that way.

QUINCY

students can adduce for so forlorn a position? As ever, the nervousness of the critics of the John Birch Society is a more interesting phenomenon than the aberrations of Mr. Welch.

**BRIEFS:** In the works, “Operation Survival,” a concerted attack on the Administration by a score of exuberant young conservative congressmen. The affair will be moderated by one of their number, who will yield the floor of the House, in turn, to each of 15 or 20 insurgents who will blast the Administration on 15 to 20 specific counts. . . . No chance of amended Taft-Hartley Act this session of Congress. Pres. Kennedy, Labor Secretary Goldberg want it changed (but don’t quite know what they want done about the blasted thing). . . . **Ready-to-go, if and when JFK gives the word: 13 nuclear explosions (1 to 25 kilotons in range); 23 non-nuclear explosions.** . . . New York Council of YAF planning “Boat Ride to Newburgh,” August 19 to present Newburgh City Manager Joseph Mitchell with a plaque. (For information write: YAF Boatride Committee, Apt. 2F, 16 W. 58th St., N. Y. 19, N. Y.)

Quemoy, Matsu garrisons on near war alert as result heightened threats by Chinese Communists, deployment of Red armies opposite offshore islands. . . . Angolan rebels now being supplied with Soviet, Czech arms ferried to neighborhood of south Angolan port of Mocamedes in Russian fishing boats. . . . **More than 10,000 UN troops in the Congo (that’s over half the entire force) are stationed in Katanga province.** . . . Kenya security officials claim nearly \$300,000 have been deposited by the Soviet Union in Cairo and Swiss banks for use by pro-Communist Kenya politicians, according to *East African Standard*. . . . Cuban government has set up 1,000 scholarships for study in Cuba by other Latin American students. Scholarships to be awarded by the International Union of Students: Headquarters, Prague.

Passed by the House, sent to the Senate, a bill authorizing the government to streamline its strategic stockpile by disposing of two million pounds of surplus feathers and down.

**Erratum:** The report [NR Bulletin, July 22] that the *Los Angeles Times* lost 8,000 subscribers as a result of its attack on the John Birch Society, which we received from a usually reliable source, turns out not to be true. The *Times* circulation edged down a few hundred at that particular time, but the dip followed a seasonal pattern.

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## • Trends •

**Total war against** the House Committee on Un-American Activities continues. Unabated. The current campaign is built around a book entitled *The Un-Americans*, which purports to be a "fully-documented account" of HUAC's misdeeds. Its author is Frank J. Donner, advertised on the cover as a "constitutional lawyer," otherwise unidentified. The book is a knowing, superficially plausible amalgam of distortion and innuendo. Better than 150,000 paperback copies have reportedly been sent around the country, and are popping up regularly in supermarkets and drug stores.

Like most opponents of HUAC, Mr. Donner argues that the Committee serves no legislative purpose (despite the fact that research by the Library of Congress reveals it has come up with 129 legislative recommendations, 35 of which have been enacted into law). Rather than rummaging up facts relevant to the business of lawmaking, he says, it gratuitously sets out to destroy innocent citizens by "exposing" them: "The Committee likes to see the unfriendly witness exposed and destroyed by publicity."

**In a backhanded way**, Mr. Donner acknowledges that those who have nothing to conceal do not suffer from such "exposure." It is, he confesses, precisely those who refuse to answer the Committee's questions, or disdain to rebut testimony given against them, who are "injured." And it is for these latter that his sympathies are reserved. FBI operatives or former Communists who give testimony are part of the Committee's evil work: "informers," "paid agents," moral lepers to be cast into darkness. Those who defy the Committee, rant against it, and inspire riots such as in San Francisco are described as thoroughly admirable.

Recalcitrant witnesses usually take refuge in the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution. Some of these, Donner argues, invoke the privilege against self-incrimination (Fifth Amendment) even though innocent, to forestall a "waiver of privilege" leading to questions about their friends. (In which case, he fails to add, they are abusing the Amendment.) Others, he concedes, claim the privilege—as well as the First Amendment guarantee of free speech—because they are in fact Communists.

**The piquant point** is that, in his working hypothesis, Mr. Donner confesses that many of those subjected to "exposure" are Communists. He simply maintains that it is evil for the Committee to inquire of them if they are what they are. His reasoning is as follows: Membership in the Communist Party is a matter of "political belief," and therefore a protected freedom under the First Amendment. We cannot exercise such freedoms fully if we are exposed to social disgrace because of them. Therefore, an essential corollary to the freedom

to-be-a-Communist is the proviso that no one should know about it.

Mr. Donner's thesis is absurdly defective. It is simply a special plea for political cowards—for those who do not have the courage to stand by their "beliefs."

But there is, of course, a more essential defect in the syllogism, namely, that Communism is not a matter of "political belief," but a matter of adhering to a foreign power which is straining every sinew to destroy the United States; a matter, in short, of treason. Mr. Donner's plaint about "exposure" and his demand for "privacy" add up to a right never before claimed by even the most ardent advocates of "civil liberties": the right to envelop treason in secrecy.

**This argument** is embellished with a number of rhetorical and substantive oddities, such as quoting from dissenting opinions of Supreme Court justices without referring to them as such ("Justice Black, in the *Barenblatt* Case, points out that . . .") or quoting transcripts in which Committee members speak sternly to witnesses, but omitting the raging contumacies which usually precede such warnings. Most peculiar of all is the abandon with which Mr. Donner decries "methods" imputed to the Committee, then blithely uses them himself. He accuses the Committee of resorting to "guilt by parallelism, mutual object and association," then employs that very technique to tie the Committee to various "hate" groups (e.g., "HUAC 'hates' the subversive in much the same way that the anti-Semite hates the Jew, the racist hates the Negro, the fundamentalist hates the Catholic, the patrioter hates the alien"). He condemns the Committee for its "exposures," but happily quotes the Buchanan Committee's "exposure" of Merwin K. Hart for "ill-concealed anti-Semitism." He acclaims newspapers which have opposed the Committee as proof of its bad odor, but indicts "the press" as part of HUAC's conspiracy to destroy amiable Communists. He faults Congressman John Rankin for saying journalist I. F. Stone's real name is Isidore Feinstein, and three pages later points out that Congressman Parnell Thomas' real name is Feeney. He blasts Congressman Francis Walter as a "xenophobe," but slurs a group of Hungarian anti-Communists as "Fascist-oriented refugees." He cites the San Francisco riots as proof of spontaneous sentiment against HUAC, but condemns a pro-HUAC demonstration as a harbinger of "electric and imminent violence."

If Mr. Donner's argument seems tortured and confused, the following may help clear things up: on December 13, 1955, ex-Communist Herbert Fuchs identified author Donner as a member of a Communist cell in the National Labor Relations Board of the early 1940's. Fuchs' identification was confirmed, on December 14, 1955, by Mortimer Riemer, and on March 1, 1956, by Harry Cooper. Questioned about these identifications, Mr. Donner, no doubt jealous of his privacy, invoked the First and Fifth Amendments.

M. STANTON EVANS



## • Abroad •

**West Berlin.** Observers have been astonished that more than half of the new refugees from East Germany are under 25 years old. Questioning at the Marienfelde reception center indicates that these young people are not much concerned with politics. They have left the East, they say, because "life is dreary there," "the work is uninteresting," "there is no chance for advancement," "you are not allowed to do your job right" (as a young farmer commented, after explaining that he was forced to sell his pigs fifty pounds under proper market weight). Most add, in one way or another, that they didn't get enough free time for themselves—too many boring meetings and compulsory discussion classes, too much supervision. (They also realize the significance of the fact, little known outside Germany, that there are no laws or regulations hindering a West German from transferring residence—taking his family and all possessions along—to the East.)

**Moscow.** The increase of travel by foreign citizens in the Soviet Union, and by Soviet citizens abroad, has had an effect that is inevitable in countries with non-convertible, artificially over-valued money: the growth of black (i.e., free) market operations in foreign currencies. The scale, and the seriousness with which the regime regards the problem, are shown by the recent trial (admission by reserved ticket only) and death sentence (under a law passed subsequent to their arrest) of two "speculators," Messrs. Rokotov and Faibishenko. It was testified of Rokotov that he used to sit brazenly in a well-known restaurant with dollar bills piled by his plate; and that he left a prison camp (to which he had been sentenced for an earlier offense) richer by 200,000 rubles that he had made by buying pork from devout Moslem prisoners to sell to the other inmates.

**Tunis.** For years Habib Bourguiba has been known as the most reasonable, prudent and pro-Western of the Arab leaders. The outside world has consequently been stunned by his seeming irrationality in suddenly provoking the Bizerte crisis. (By his own admission, or boast, he started the shooting.) But as prospects look from here, his conduct makes sense. Bourguiba figures: 1) France is abandoning Africa so precipitately that her remaining positions may have crumbled by the end of the year. 2) With the French gone, the dominant power of the entire Maghreb (Morocco-Algeria-Tunisia) will be the FLN—15,000 of whose troops are *already* based in Tunisia. 3) In the past, French power has been, in paradoxical fact, the protector of Tunisia. With the collapse of French power, Bourguiba must seek a new protector. Provoking the Bizerte crisis makes possible the substitution of NATO, the UN, or a Communist-bloc shield. Bourguiba is ready to accept any of the three rather than the direct, bare confrontation of his brothers of the National Liberation Front.

**Rabat, Morocco.** U. S. Air Force and Naval officers stationed here smile wryly as they read the news from Bizerte. Their current job is the staged withdrawal from the bases on which the U. S. spent more than a billion dollars. No shooting was needed to force the Americans out: only the hint, two years ago, that they were no longer welcome, and that "the American image" would suffer if any objections were made. So far from resisting, indeed, the U. S. is paying, as it were, for the privilege of withdrawal. This spring, when the perennial Moroccan agricultural crisis worsened from bad weather and the first effects of reduced U. S. activity, Washington ponied up \$23 million worth of wheat and animal feed. Much more is expected to appear as Moroccan policy and a 300,000 yearly population increase continue to wreck the ill-balanced economy.



Tarentel Press

**Essen, German Federal Republic.** A new pamphlet ("What Does Willy Brandt Want?"), published by a group of Christian Democratic rightists calling themselves the "Rheinische Gruppe," fires a new salvo against West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt, Herr Adenauer's Social Democratic opponent for the chancellorship in the rapidly approaching election. It has been established that Brandt, who went into exile from the Nazi regime: a) was a journalist on the anti-Franco side during the Spanish Civil War; b) became a Norwegian citizen; c) fought in the Norwegian resistance against (Nazi) Germany; d) returned to Germany after the war as a Norwegian journalist; e) was associated with the Social Democratic brain-truster, Herbert Wehner, a former Communist widely suspected of retaining pro-Soviet links. The world accepts Brandt as the aggressive anti-Communist which his recent career seems to prove him to be. But inside Germany the earlier facts fuel a bitter personal campaign against him. The new pamphlet finds a parallel between his wartime actions and those of the East German leader, Walter Ulbricht: Ulbricht, too, fought as an emigré for the defeat of Germany and the victory, in half of Germany at least, of Communism. Should that make a man a German hero? Should a man with Herr Brandt's background lead West Germany in her greatest crisis?

## • The Investor •

**According to sales** of computer manufacturers, the soaring '60's are right on schedule. Sales value of computers installed in 1960 approximated \$500 million; in 1961, installations are estimated at \$700 million, and by 1965 they may reach a rate of \$1.5 billion. One of the first major industries being mechanized by the large data-processing machines is banking; in particular, the demand deposit operations of banks. Mechanization of this operation is essential because of the rapidly growing use of checks as a means of transferring money, the requirement of absolute accuracy, and the increasing number of people required to effect these transactions. With the recent standardization of MICR (Magnetic Ink Character Recognition), banking is the only industry which has been able to decide on a common system for representing information, and is now on the threshold of a vast electronic equipment purchasing program.

In the early returns, IBM and GE are the leaders by a wide margin. Five out of six of the major New York banks have chosen IBM equipment. GE with its \$30 million installation at the Bank of America, was the recipient of what is still the largest commercial electronics contract ever let. The Federal Reserve banks may provide another clue to the manufacturers' prospects. Presently, the Boston district is testing a National Cash Register system; Philadelphia, IBM; New York, Ferranti-Packard, Chicago, Burroughs, and San Francisco, National Data Processing. These Federal Reserve banks are making a thorough study of banking equipment but probably will not give preference to any single manufacturer.

Of the 14,600 domestic banks, approximately 300 have total demand deposits in excess of \$100 million and can be considered eligible for large scale data-processing systems. Total valuation of this equipment could amount to \$750 million. The next 1,000 banks, in size, could use smaller electronic data-processing systems which might add another \$250 million to the computer manufacturers' potential sales volume. However, a number of smaller banks are exploring the use of data-processing centers to handle their needs, including the transmission of facsimiles of checks by microwave. This development could enlarge considerably the potential for electronics in banking.

In the MICR system, you, the check writer, are in the unique position of originating the very document which is processed through the bank's accounting system. Very simply, your check is accepted by the bank; the dollar amount, and other data are printed on the check with magnetic ink by an encoder; then your check is processed with other checks through a high speed sorter-reader which "reads" the magnetic ink characters. The checks are physically sorted according to their appropriate destinations. The electronic equipment is of two types. The first is the check handling equipment which includes a manual magnetic ink encoder and proof machine, a

combination sorter-reader, and a control unit. The second is the computer and peripheral equipment which includes a large or medium size computer (depending on the size of the bank), associated tape transports, printers, and card and tape punches. All the major computer manufacturers are interested in and equally capable of providing the computer portion for the banking systems. Only four companies, IBM, GE, NCR, and Burroughs are able to supply both the computer and check-handling equipment. The key machine in the check-handling equipment is the extraordinarily fast and precise sorter-reader which is available only from the above four manufacturers and sells for approximately \$75,000. The following listing gives some idea of the computers which the above manufacturers use in large scale banking systems and also the maximum rate of speed and documents per minute of their sorter-reader. The monthly rentals are estimates.

IBM	Computer 7070—monthly rental	\$24,000
	or 1401	\$ 6,500
	Sorter-Reader—950 documents per minute	
GE	Computer GE 210—monthly rental	\$14,000
	or 225	\$ 9,000
	Sorter-Reader—1,200 documents per minute	
<i>National Cash</i>		
Register	Computer NCR 304—monthly rental	\$15,000
	or NCR 315	\$ 8,500
	Sorter-Reader—750 documents per minute	
Burroughs	Computer B-5000—monthly rental	\$16,200
	or B-270	\$ 8,000
	Sorter-Reader—1,560 documents per minute	

**IBM, GE, NCR,** and Burroughs have an edge on other competition because they can supply a complete system. This is a welcome convenience to the customer in servicing and placing responsibility for the system's operation.

Initial work is also being done on mechanizing other banking operations such as savings deposits, trust accounting, travelers' checks, mortgages and loans. Tele-register Corporation has test installations in three large savings account banks and expects the first system to be operational before the close of 1961. Very few individual savings banks are large enough to afford their own system but market surveys indicate that perhaps 100 large systems costing about \$100 million, located in data-processing centers around the country and communicating with individual banks, could completely mechanize savings accounts and mortgage loans.

Less than one-quarter of the electronic equipment to be used in banks has been installed up to now, but equipment is being ordered at such a pace that probably most of the banks will be equipped during the early part of this decade. The stakes are high because of the large market potential. The success of several major computer manufacturers may be determined by how large a share they can secure in the banking by electronics market.

THOMAS W. FOLGER

(Mr. Greene is on vacation)



